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Socializing Respect at School in Northern Thailand

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notes, interviews and program documents the author argues that the learners' definitions of success differ markedly from those set by the government. Drawing on theories of motivation in language learning, Warhol identifies program participation and task completion as important goals for this particular group of learners and argues that these measures, and not those designated by the government, reflect language learning success.

In her qualitative study of learners of French, Erin Kearney explores the facets of identity that come into play for beginning learners of French in an American university. Three "identity narratives" are presented in an attempt to add to the growing literature on language learner identity and to support the claim that language learning is not only about language acquisition, but also represents a social practice that has the potential to transform learners' identities. In this article, success in language learning is examined in terms of the learner's journey in seeking out a satisfying identity, highlighting moments of struggle and small victories. The author argues that even at early stages, learners show evidence of identity transformation and that attention to these changes will prove useful for instructors and researchers alike in reconceptualizing the language learner.

Desire for national success in a global market and in the IT industry, both of which privilege English, motivates the changing educational language policy of Korea, discussed by Jiyeon Lee. In Korea's case, the desire to promote success in English language learning is reflected in curricular reforms of English education at the elementary school level. Lee not only documents the seven curricular reforms influencing English language education at the elementary school level but also provides an analysis of the roles performed by the various actors involved in the seventh curricular reform.

On some level, each of these articles engages with different approaches to gauging the success of language learning and language socialization within their various contexts. It is our hope that you will find this collection as informative and as engaging as we have.

Shannon Sauro
Erin Kearney

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Philadelphia

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This paper documents the ideologies and linguistic practices of respect at the Pong Noi Village School, and how knowledge of these ideologies and practices is transmitted to children in the classroom. In particular, this paper explores (1) how respect is conceived, including community members' explicit formulations of respect and the implicit ideologies reflected in their actual practices; (2) how respect organizes children's interactions at school, focusing on the use of honorific registers and language choice; (3) how children are socialized into these community ideologies and practices, including socialization through the explicit and implicit strategies employed by teachers, and through children's participation in recurrent, culturally significant activities. I argue that the display of respect is interlinked with the structuring of attention and forms of participation in the classroom.

Introduction

In the community of Pong Noi, a small village located on the outskirts of Chiang Mai City in Northern Thailand, children are socialized into community ideologies and practices of respect in two languages—the local vernacular and the national standard language of Thailand. Respect is an important organizing factor in the everyday lives of the villagers, informing community practices of speaking and acting, including language choice, embodied displays of respect, and the use of honorific registers in both languages. In this community, adults explicitly hold children accountable for displaying their understanding of the social situations in which they are participating through the appropriate linguistic and embodied performance of respect. As children are socialized into these practices of respect, they are also socialized into complex, parallel

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social hierarchies, local ideologies of caregiving, teaching and learning, and community practices of language hybridity that underlie an ongoing process of community-wide language shift. This paper explores how, as Muang children are socialized into the expectations, obligations, rights, and responsibilities associated with particular roles and relationships in their community, they are also socialized into ideologies and practices of respect.

This paper documents the ideologies and linguistic practices of respect at the Pong Noi Village School, and how knowledge of these ideologies and practices is transmitted to children in the classroom. In particular, this paper explores (1) how respect is conceived, including community members' explicit formulations of respect and the implicit ideologies reflected in their actual practices; (2) how respect organizes children's interactions at school, focusing on the use of honorific registers and language choice; (3) how children are socialized into these community ideologies and practices, including socialization through the explicit and implicit strategies employed by teachers, and through children's participation in recurrent, culturally significant activities.

The study presented here shows that explicit ideologies and characterizations of respect made by community members often idealize the linguistic and embodied practices for displaying respect and the situations in which these displays of respect are expected. Children are socialized not only through these explicit instructions and characterizations of respect in the classroom, but also through socialization practices that hold them accountable for displaying respect in specific phases of particular classroom activities. I argue that the display of respect is interlinked with the structuring of attention and forms of participation in the classroom.

Respect across Cultures

Across communities, social roles and relationships are associated with certain rights, obligations, and expectations. Children are expected to act appropriately in these roles, and are morally evaluated in terms of how well they do so. Just as the range of roles and relationships in which children participate varies from culture to culture, and from setting to setting, the rights, obligations, and expectations associated with these roles are also culturally specific. In order to become competent members of their communities, children must gain knowledge of these appropriate ways of thinking, feeling and acting (Capps & Ochs 1995; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Ochs & Schieffelin 1984).

Face-to-face interaction is infused with symbolic acts that display a recognition of the sacredness of self and others (Csordas 1994; Goffman 1967). These demeanors of deference to others constitute the means by which social actors make public their attitudes and stances toward the personal identities of other community members and/or the social roles

that they occupy. Within a community, social actors recognize and perform constellations of linguistic and embodied practices that constitute for that community such demeanors as respect, politeness, and formality, among others (Bailey 1997; Brown & Levinson 1987; Duranti 1997; Irvine 1979).

A number of studies have focused on cross-cultural practices of respect in ritual settings and ritualized behavior, such as participation in cultural rituals, greeting, begging, and other related activities (Appadurai 1990; Bailey 1997; Duranti 1992; Firth 1972; Goody 1972; Irvine 1979). This cross-cultural work has demonstrated how the conceptions of respect and the practices for displaying respect vary across cultures and are invoked and reproduced in face-to-face interaction.

Respect is a concept that carries cultural significance within a given community, where particular linguistic and embodied practices become indexically linked with role-appropriate stances toward the personal and positional identities of others and toward a normative social order (Hall & Bucholtz 1995; Ochs 1992; Valdes 1996). Such indexical linkage is forged through regular and repeated associations of particular sign phenomena to situations of use, and is transmitted through the implicit and explicit evaluative behavior of community members (Agha 2003; Urban 2001). As such, respect is neither a unitary nor a universal concept, but is rather a set of practices informed by culture-specific ideologies linking pragmatic behavior such as bowing, the use of honorific registers, and forms of participation to social values concerning persons and their roles in society. This process of transmission and circulation is inherently transformative—through their participation social actors create, recreate, and transform the practices of respect as they negotiate their multiple and complex identities in a multi-dimensional social space (C. Goodwin 1986; M. H. Goodwin 1990).

Respect in Educational Settings

One major goal of conducting the research presented here is to enrich our understanding of power, social control, and discipline in classroom settings. Research in educational settings has not focused in any great detail on the socialization of respect in the classroom. One important stream of social research has focused on power relationships, discipline, and social control as they are constituted through discursive practices in society (Bloch 1975; Foucault 1979), and in educational settings more particularly (Erickson & Schultz 1982; Gee 1996; Hymes 1973; Mertz 1998; Phillips 1972). While much of the research on institutional settings has focused on the rights of those in positions of authority (e.g., teachers, doctors, lawyers) to exert social control over those in less powerful positions, more recent research has demonstrated how power is constituted by active agents through their discursive action in particular activities. A small body of research has examined how children are socialized at

school into these appropriate ways of thinking, feeling, and acting in the classroom (Heath in press; Heath 1983; Lynch & Hilles 1996).

Much of the research on children's socialization into community ideologies and practices of respect has focused on respect in the home rather than the school setting. Valdes (1996) showed how respect is an important organizing force in parent-child interactions in Mexican-American homes. There, respect is displayed through practices that show the child's awareness of the rights and obligations associated with family roles, for example respecting the father's authority, or respecting the mother's right to be unimpeded by her children's behavior. Zentella (1997) shows how Puerto Rican values of respecting elders, as displayed through appropriate speech behavior, is transmitted to children through admonitions, but also challenged and negotiated in teasing and joking activities initiated by children and adults. While respect has been shown to be an important cultural value in the homes of these language minority children, the workings and ideologies of respect in mainstream classrooms has remained unexamined. Cross-cultural research on how respect organizes classroom interactions is needed in order to illuminate the issues surrounding children's socialization into the institutional roles of the school setting.

The socialization of respect is an important site for the study of power and social control in the classroom because these practices of respect are a means by which social actors display deference to (or lack of deference to) the role rights, obligations, and expectations linked to particular institutional roles in the classroom, including the right to control the activities of others. Language socialization research has examined cultural differences in the goals, practices, and outcomes of children's early development. One important difference is that cultural groups vary in the extent to which the caregiver (or teacher) is considered responsible for the child's learning, leading to differences in the way children are guided through learning activities (Ochs & Schieffelin 1984; Rogoff 1990). These differing ideologies of caregiving, teaching, and learning are deeply interconnected with the rights, obligations, and expectations associated with roles such as parent, teacher, child, or student. As such, children's socialization into the practices of respect are tied to these role expectations, and thus tied to notions of what it means to learn, what it means to be a student, and what it means to teach others.

This paper demonstrates how, at school, the linguistic and embodied practices of respect are tied to the use of honorific registers of the Standard Thai language. Rather than infusing all classroom activities, however, displays of respect punctuate the activities at particular moments. Through an interventionist mode of socialization, children are explicitly held accountable for performing these displays during particular phases of the activity, but they are not otherwise regularly held accountable for using Standard Thai in classroom activities. The official

policy that Standard Thai should be spoken in the classroom as the language of instruction and interaction, on the other hand, was treated with a non-interventionist mode of socialization: teachers' ideologies concerning children's degrees of "readiness" to learn the standard language at particular developmental stages informed these practices of accommodation to the students (Howard 2003).

Methods

This paper reports findings from a larger research study on language socialization in Pong Noi Village near Chiang Mai, Thailand. This ethnographic, discourse-analytic study was conducted over the course of one year from October 2000 through October 2001, and included participant observations, and recording and transcription of Muang children's daily activities at home and at school. The focal participants in the study were a group of 4 five- to six-year-old children and their seven- to nine-year-old elder siblings. These children were observed and videotaped in their naturally occurring interactions with other community members in these settings, including parents, adult relatives, teachers, siblings, neighborhood children, and their peers at school. Videotaped ethnographic interviews were also conducted with their school teachers and their adult caregivers.

The data used in this paper include videotaped interactions in the children's kindergarten and second grade classrooms, observations of activities and events in those classrooms, and interviews with the children's teachers. Analysis draws on ethnomethodology and conversational analysis, and focuses on the use of honorific formality marking particles by children and teachers at particular phases of classroom activity in ways that construct and ratify particular types of participation structures.

Hierarchy and Respect in the Muang Community

Hierarchy is an important organizing factor in everyday interactions across settings within Pong Noi village, and throughout Northern Thailand. Social hierarchies organize and are organized by the villagers' routine linguistic and embodied practices in various village settings. In Pong Noi village, the social organization of hierarchy operates along several dimensions simultaneously. One of the most important factors in status differentiation is the relative age of individuals: in general, younger individuals defer to older individuals across settings and activities. Another important means of determining status relationships, operating at the same time as age-grade relations and sometimes taking priority over them, is relative rank within an institution such as the school, the Buddhist religion, or government. In addition, within the village, institutions have status relations with each other: individuals representing the government and Buddhist religion rank (at least theo-

retically) above those representing the school; individuals representing the school rank above those representing the family of a student. Education, socioeconomic level, and spiritual or religious status also inform the status relations among villagers.

Across Thailand, high status is associated with power, protection, and benevolence, while low status is associated with dependence, need, and gratitude. High status individuals are viewed as powerful beings, able to protect or harm lower status individuals. Ideally, those with power should wield it with compassion and benevolence toward the powerless (Phillips 1970; Sharp & Hanks 1978). A typical metaphor for the benevolent protection of a superior is that of "a large tree in the shade of which (a subordinate) could rest and be content" (Rabibhadana 1975). The less powerful, in turn, should ideally express gratitude for such compassion by obeying and respecting the wishes of the more powerful.

In Pong Noi Village, as elsewhere, these structures are not simple, nor are they unidirectional, but rather they constitute complex, parallel systems of social organization that are contingent upon the social setting and activities in which social actors are engaged. A given social actor can participate in multiple social hierarchies in his or her everyday life and must draw on the rights, obligations, and expectations associated with these roles when participating in meaningful ways with other community members. In Muang society, these multiple, complex, and parallel social structures underlie a rich variety of linguistic and embodied behavior that displays community members' understandings of the social setting and activity in which they are involved. While it is simple enough to note that those with high status should be accorded respect and deference from lower status individuals, what differs cross-culturally is the manifestation of this respect and deference in the routine and culturally significant practices of a community.

The linguistic and embodied practices by which community members display respect and deference in a variety of settings are constructed through the use of the linguistic forms that constitute the social registers of two different languages—Kam Muang and Standard Thai—as well as the choice of language itself, various embodied practices such as bowing, manner of dress, and comportment. The appropriate display of respect in a particular social situation is constructed through constellations of these different modes and sign phenomena. These various features mutually elaborate each other in ways that construct a complex and subtle construal of the speaker's assessment of the situation.

The Language of Respect in Pong Noi Village

Muang children must learn to use several honorific levels of two distinct codes in ways that are appropriate to situations of use. During a typical day in Pong Noi Village, a Muang child encounters a broad range of community members while participating in multiple activities in a

variety of settings. Each of these domains privileges different languages, social registers, and language practices. In family household settings informal spoken Kam Muang is used by 90% of Northern Thai families for everyday conversation. In this setting the child encounters older and younger relatives, neighbors, and neighborhood friends of various ages. These situations call for appropriate uses of the social registers of Kam Muang, and the child must learn to speak in ways that are appropriate to these social settings.

Across Thailand, the official language of the media, education, and government is Standard Thai. When Pong Noi village children enter school for the first time, they are instructed in Standard Thai, although they are not yet competent speakers of it. At school they are exposed for the first time to formal spoken and formal written varieties of this national language. In this setting, a Pong Noi child encounters teachers, school officials, classmates and other schoolmates, most of whom are also Muang speakers. These situations call for the use of either Standard Thai or Kam Muang, and children must learn to use both of their community's languages in ways that are appropriate to the social situations and activities in which they are participating.

Thai Klang (the language upon which Standard Thai is based, spoken by the central Thai people) and Kam Muang are closely related languages in the Tai-Kadai branch of the Austro-Thai language family (Brown 1965; Grimes 1996). While the two languages share much of their syntax and grammar, about 40% of their lexicon is non-cognate—meaning different words represent similar meanings (Davis 1984). Of the remaining cognate words, about half are pronounced differently in the two languages, according to regular phonological changes that have caused them to diverge. Both Muang and Central Thai groups consider the two languages to be dialects of the Thai language, rather than separate languages.

In both Standard Thai and Kam Muang, there are a variety of social registers sensitive to situations of use. Many features of linguistic form vary with respect to the formality of the setting, the gender and/or status of the speaker and addressee, and social distance between interlocutors (Iwasaki & Horie 2000). Speakers evaluate speech in terms of its situational appropriateness, including the way speech both reflects and creates the speaker's and hearer's social status and relationship, appropriate levels of formality, and the speaker's respect for her interlocutors (Campbell 1969; Cook 1989; Iwasaki & Horie 1996; Iwasaki & Horie 2000). Certain linguistic markers of social register are 'pragmatically salient' to speakers of Thai and Kam Muang; that is, they rise to speakers' conscious awareness as situationally variable (Errington 1998). These features are thus strategically manipulated by speakers, and become the object of cultural ideologies, normative typifications, and metapragmatic discourse about appropriate ways of speaking (Agha 1998). In turn these situa-

tional varieties are complexly interlinked with cultural notions of person and identity in addition to other situational variables (Errington 1998; Irvine 1979).

There is no one-to-one correspondence between variables of a situation and linguistic features of talk. Instead, certain linguistic features can come to index aspects of a speech situation through common association with discourse, social, and cultural variables (Agha 1994; Jakobson 1957; Silverstein 1976). This property of all languages allows speakers to use certain linguistic features not only to index aspects of the speech context, but also to create a context for speech by invoking aspects of the speech situation. The strategic use of such forms on particular occasions of interaction does not, however, always fit with native speakers' normative typifications of their pragmatic significance. Thus, these social registers are not only informed by explicit norms of use, but are creatively deployed by speakers moment by moment in temporally unfolding interactions (Baron 2001; Goodwin & Goodwin 1990). Nevertheless, certain activities tend to privilege some speech varieties over others—in a given cultural activity certain features marking speech level will tend to be privileged, occurring more frequently than other features.

In both languages, the linguistic features marking these social registers include clause- or phrase-final formality marking particles, and terms of person reference and address (Iwasaki & Horie 2000). In addition, Standard Thai has a system of lexical 'speech level' paradigms and the respect vocabulary variation of lexical items according to the formality of the situation and the status of the addressee and/or referent.

The formality marking particles (hereafter FMP's) will be the focus of our analysis below. These are honorific particles that can be placed at the end of an utterance to mark aspects of the social situation. Iwasaki and Horie (1996) argue that these particles mark the formality of the speech setting in which speakers are interacting. The range of FMP's in each language mark situations from very informal (very intimate or vulgar) through very formal situations (such as interacting with the royalty). Through their regular and routine occurrence in certain types of activities and settings, these "coding cues" (Iwasaki & Horie 1996) come to be more or less consciously associated with their situations of use, and community members form typifications and stereotypes about the social or situational factors indexed by these individual bits of language (Agha 1998). Members of a community gain competence over their lifetimes in the community values and stereotypes connecting these individual signs to aspects of the social context of language. The Standard Thai FMP's most relevant to our analysis here are the following particles, *khâ* / *kháp* which mark high formality situations.

The use of FMP's in Standard Thai and Kam Muang is an important means of displaying appropriate levels of respect that is highly contingent on particular situations. As we will see below, FMP's are an

important and salient means of marking respect in classroom speech, and children are explicitly instructed to show respect by using the Standard Thai high formality FMP's in their speech. These particles, which occur at the end of an utterance, mark the degree of formality of the situation (Cooke 1989; Iwasaki & Horie 2000). For example, the high-formality level particles mark a high degree of respect toward one's interlocutor, especially in public or formal situations (Iwasaki & Horie 2000). At the high formality level, unlike other levels of formality, these particles also mark the speaker's sex. Also, the Standard Thai female-speaker form marks whether the utterance is declarative (d) or interrogative (q). The high-level FMP's in Standard Thai and Kam Muang are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1
High-level Formality Marking Particles

	Kam Muang	Standard Thai
Male speaker	<i>khâap, kháp</i>	<i>kháp</i>
Female speaker	<i>câw</i>	<i>khâ</i> (d) <i>khá</i> (q)

Practices and Ideologies of Socialization in the Northern Thai Classroom

Cultural ideologies of child development, social control, and child-rearing in the Muang community underlie an ethos of accommodation in the caregiving practices of Muang adults. Children are seen as emotional beings who become "ready" for certain types of knowledge at different rates. Adults are expected to draw on their superior knowledge and understanding to raise children in a compassionate way that reflects an understanding of the child as an individual, and as a developing person. Muang people often express the concern that putting too much pressure on a child provokes negative emotions that can have serious consequences. For this reason, adults believe they must gauge what the child is ready to understand, and which domains the child has a propensity to succeed in. The ultimate locus of control for children's actions and behavior lies within themselves, thus adults' caregiving and teaching practices aim to influence rather than to control the child.² This ethos of accommodation underlies a non-interventionist mode of socialization in which caregivers and teachers provide abstract instruction in matters of social appropriateness or moral behavior either prior to breaches or temporally removed from them.

When it comes to the socialization of respect, however, an interven-

²See Howard (2003) for a complete description of these ideologies.

tionist mode of care giving prevails. The practices of respect are frequently highlighted and corrected in adults' interactions with young children. Children are exposed to, and participate in, pervasive linguistic and embodied practices of respect that index the social roles and relationships of co-participants, the formality of the situation, and the type of activity in which they are involved. These practices of respect are characterized and idealized in lectures, textbooks, songs, and stories taught to the children. Adults and older children often make these displays of respect the subject of regular and explicit socialization routines. From the very earliest infancy, socially appropriate behavior such as greeting, bowing, and using the social registers of language are modeled, prompted, voiced and commented upon in the children's environment. Infants' bodies are formed into the appropriate gesture of bowing while parents voice respectful greetings, children are called to the carpet for failing to greet an older adult in their presence, parents highlight their dissatisfaction when children use stigmatized forms of person reference within earshot, and teachers reject student responses that fail to display a high degree of formality and respect.

The ethos of respect, therefore, underlies a mode of caregiving and teaching in which adults intervene in the behavior of children to supply the socially appropriate linguistic and embodied practices that are expected of them. In this way, children are publicly held accountable for performing an appropriate assessment of the social situation at hand, and for displaying that assessment through the social practices of the community.

Children have a dual task on the road to becoming fully competent and socially appropriate social actors within their community. First they must become familiar with the hierarchical structures of their community, what Bourdieu refers to as the 'habitus'. This 'habitus' includes cultural models of roles, social relationships, and the expectations related to those roles and relationships. These models are expressed and circulated by the community in the metapragmatic discourses that characterize and typify socially appropriate behavior (Agha 1998; Agha 2003).

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, children must learn how to engage in the everyday linguistic and embodied practices of respect and deference that display an assessment of the hierarchical structures and situational contingencies at play in particular situations. These everyday practices do not necessarily have clear or direct links to the social structures, cultural models, and typified behaviors that are made explicit through the metadiscursive practices of community members. Instead everyday practices are fuzzy and contingent.

From the perspective of adults, teachers, and community members, the task in socializing a child is also two-fold. They must transmit a sense of the structures and principles that they perceive to underlie proper

comportment. On the other hand, they must hold children accountable for the performance of these everyday practices in ways that display an appropriate analysis of particular social situations in progress.

The range of socialization practices related to the appropriate display of respect at school reflects this two-fold challenge of language socialization in the Muang community. Community socialization practices in the realm of respect vary along at least two dimensions: the degree to which the expected behavior is supplied versus presupposed or implicit in the socializing practice, and the temporal proximity of the socializing practice to the expected behavior.

Supplying practices are those in which a community member prompts, models, notes, highlights, or voices the behavior that is expected when a child has failed to act appropriately. Within the context of a child's breach of appropriate behavior, these practices include modeling, prompting, voicing, correction, directive + "first", "have you X'd yet?", "Don't forget X", "I don't want X, I want X." Anticipatory practices—those occurring outside the context of a child's behavior—include lectures, stories, reported speech/ enactment, making "agreements", classroom rules, and explicit instruction in civics textbooks. These anticipatory socialization practices constitute formalized instruction that explicitly characterizes the hierarchical structures of the community, typifies appropriate behavior related to these structures, and evaluates this behavior.

Presupposing practices also respond to a child's breach of the norms of appropriateness, but do not supply information about expected behavior. Instead, they note the breach in nonspecific ways, such as evaluation of inappropriate behavior, characterization of inappropriate behavior, indirect reference to inappropriate behavior (e.g., "your mouth", "your mouth is not good"), laughter, repetition of inappropriate behavior, saying "I don't want that" in reference to the behavior, waving one's hand or ignoring the child's attempt to interact with the adult.

Children's socialization into the practices for displaying respect, such as greeting behavior and language choice, involves anticipatory, presupposing and supplying socialization practices. The anticipatory socialization practices often characterize the expected behavior and the situations in which this behavior is expected. These characterizations idealize the form of the behavior, the social situations themselves, and the spatio-temporal boundaries of the activities in which this behavior is expected. Socialization practices occurring within the context of behavior deal more specifically with the situational contingencies involved in the actual activities in which children are involved. They supply the appropriate behavior at the particular moments in which that behavior is expected, highlighted the sequential and activity-level timing of this behavior, and deal with the complexities of its proper performance and participation given the particular circumstances involved.

Socializing the Language of Respect: Outside of the Context

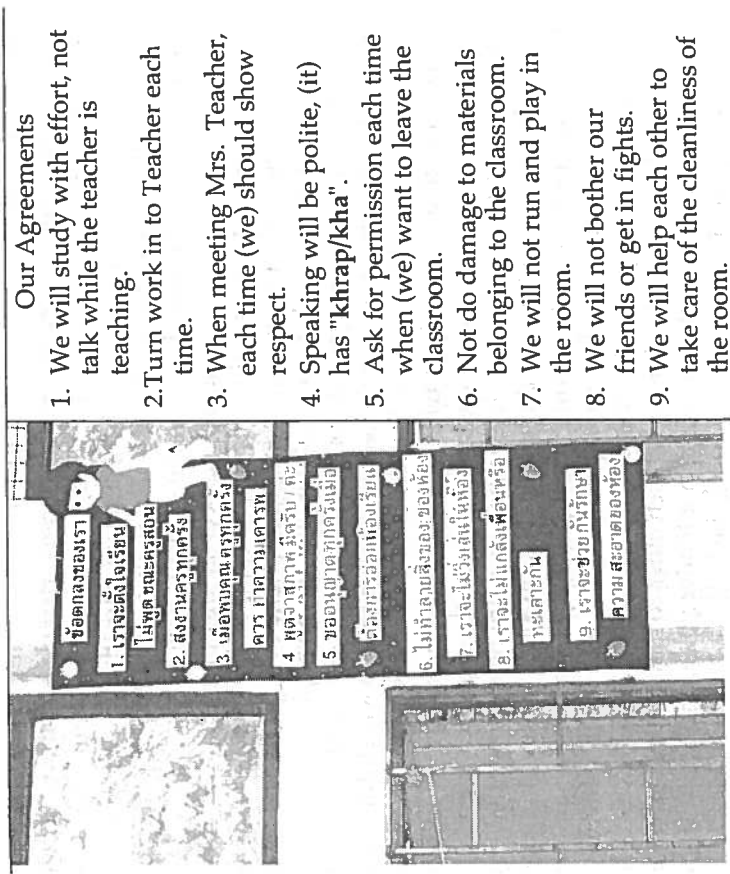
At school, children are explicitly socialized to use FMP's in their speech as an important means of displaying respect. They are told that they must show respect and speak politely to teachers, and speaking politely is explicitly tied to the use of the Standard Thai high-formality FMP's *khâ* and *khraph*. Children are instructed to use these Standard Thai particles whenever they speak to the teacher, and when speaking in the classroom. On the other hand, teachers do not explicitly characterize the classroom language as Standard Thai versus Kam Muang. Because FMP's are considered to be emblematic markers of each language, however, teachers indirectly socialize children to speak Standard Thai in the classroom by telling them to use the Standard Thai FMP's *khâ* or *khraph*. Through this process of socialization, Standard Thai becomes the language that is associated with the school setting, with formality, and with government institutions.

The use of these Standard Thai high-level FMP's is the subject of much metapragmatic discourse in the school setting. These explicit characterizations of polite and appropriate classroom language specifically associate the particles *khâ* and *khraph* with speaking to the teacher at school. These socialization practices are anticipatory, occurring most frequently *outside* the context in which the particles are expected. Like the anticipatory practices described above, the characterizations of FMP's typify and idealize the situations in which the use of these particles is expected.

One of these anticipatory socialization routines is called "making agreements together." At the beginning of the school year, grade school teachers and their students draw up a list of classroom rules that will be observed during the school year. These 'agreements' are formulated by the teacher and students: the teacher elicits the rules from the students and reformulates them as she writes them down for display on a poster board, which is then visibly displayed in the classroom throughout the school year. For example, the agreements posted in the primary grade 2 classroom at Pong Noi School are shown in Figure 1 below.

In Agreement #3, the children are instructed to "show respect" each time they meet a teacher. This agreement characterizes the display of respect as the student's responsibility in relation to the teachers. In addition, this agreement characterizes the situation in which these displays are expected—every time a student 'meets' a teacher. Agreement #4 instructs the children to speak politely in the classroom, and further characterizes speaking politely as 'having' the Standard Thai FMP's *khâ* and *khraph*. In actual practice, however, the children are not expected to use these particles in every sentence or utterance they produce in the classroom, but instead would be expected to use them at particular times, as we will see in the next section. The fact that these explicit characteriza-

Figure 1
Anticipatory Socialization: Classroom "Agreements"



tions of polite language describe it as marked by these Standard Thai particles idealizes not only the linguistic behavior expected of children but also the situations in which the use of this polite language is expected.

Socializing the Language of Respect: Within the Context

Children's use of FMP's in the classroom is something that also sometimes becomes the subject of socializing routines *within* the context in which they are expected. These interventions by the teacher do not occur every time children would be expected to use these particles. When these interventions do occur, however, they deal with the particulars of the activity at hand, and how to employ these particles appropriately in very particular situations. Even though the anticipatory socialization practices described above characterize the FMP's as being required in all classroom interactions, in reality these particles are only expected in particular contexts within the classroom. As we will see in the following examples, children must learn to distinguish degrees of formality and forms of participation in different phases of classroom activities. These particles are employed in the most formal types of situations, such as in the openings and closings of activities and at moments when participa-

tion structures are designed to hold the children accountable for displaying their attention to ongoing activities, such as in choral responses to the teacher.

Segment 1, below, occurred in the kindergarten classroom about two weeks after the school year started. Before the segment begins, the class is between classroom activities. For several minutes, the teacher has been indicating that she wishes to start a new activity by directing the children to get in a circle. During that time, the students have played and talked with their friends, while the teacher has been getting prepared to start the next classroom activity. Finally, when the teacher is completely ready to start the activity, she brings a stool and microphone over to the middle of the circle, sits down, and starts speaking over the microphone.³

In this segment, the teacher, Aaphorn, instructs the children to use these FMP's in their answer to the teacher. As we saw above, children are explicitly instructed to use these Standard Thai FMP's when speaking in the classroom, and especially when speaking to the teacher. While in actual practice, children are not expected to use these particles in every utterance that they address to the teacher, they are held accountable by the teacher for using them in this particular situation. Here she makes these particles the object of scrutiny and correction. In line 5, Aaphorn asks the class a question that is designed to get the children's attention focused on the group activity: "Do you want to study kids?" The children are still playing and talking with each other so they don't answer. In line 7, Aaphorn repeats this question in a louder voice, and some of the students respond in line 8 without using the FMP.

In line 9 Aaphorn indicates that there is a problem with the way in which the children answered. Her correction/repair in this line repeats the children's response with the addition of the FMP *khâ* which she highlights in her voice quality by stressing it. This utterance models the appropriate response for the children.

In the same line, Aaphorn then directs the children to answer again. The first part of this directive, *ʔaw māj*, literally means 'want new', meaning the teacher wants to hear it again. These directives specifically indicate that she wants a different answer, and request that the children answer the question in a new way.

In line 10, she repeats her question from lines 5 and 7, "do you want to study kids?", providing an opportunity for the children to practice answering the question in the way she has modeled for them. Although Aaphorn had modeled only the female-speaker FMP in line 9, the boys and girls both answer her question using the particle appropriate to their gender in lines 11-12. This time, nearly all of the children have joined the activity and they give a loud, choral response that includes the FMP: "We

3 The use of microphones in kindergarten and grade school classrooms was very common in the Chiang Mai area. Teachers explained this by saying that it saved their voices from fatigue.

want to study *khā/khāp*."

In line 13, Aaphorn asks the children the same question again. This time she herself uses the FMP without the sentence-final vocative *līuk* 'kids.' After the children respond appropriately, she continues with the

Segment 1: 05/29/01 #2: (p. 3-4, l. 2-22)⁴
(Standard Thai only)

- | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|------------|----------|--|
| 1. Aaphorn | thāa khon | nāj | lên | kan | |
| | if person | which | play | together | |
| | if any people | are playing | together, | | |
| 2. | khun khuu | ʔaaphoon cà | chəen | hāj | |
| | HT teacher | NA | FUT invite | BFV | |
| | ʔòok | paj | khāaŋ nòok | ləej | |
| | exit go | side | out | EMP | |
| 3. Student | nāj | | | | |
| | where | | | | |
| | where? | | | | |
| 4. | (0.6) | | | | |
| 5. Aaphorn | jàak cà | lian | máj lūuk | | |
| | want | FUT study | Q kid | | |
| | do (you) | want to study, | kids? | | |
| 6. Student | lian () | | | | |
| | study | | | | |
| | study () | | | | |
| 7. Aaphorn | jàak lian | máj lūuk | | | |
| | want | study Q | kid | | |
| | do (you) | want to study, | kids? | | |
| 8. students | jàak lian | | | | |
| | want | study | | | |
| | (We) | want to study. | | | |

Mrs. Teacher Aaphorn will invite (you) to go outside.

4 See Appendix A for a glossary of abbreviations and appendix B for transcription conventions.

9. Aaphorn ʔaa jàak lian khâ ʔaw màj
 PT want study FMP want new

tòp màj
 answer new

ah (we) want to study **khâ**. Do it again.
 Answer again.

10. jàak lian máj lúuk
 want study Q kid
 Do (you) want to study kids?

11. girls jàak lian khâ
 want study FMP
 (we) want to study **khâ**

12. boys jàak lian kháp
 want study FMP
 (we) want to study **kháp**

13. Aaphorn jàak lian máj kháa
 want study Q FMP
 do (you) want to study **khâ**

14. girls jàak lian khâ
 want study FMP
 (we) want to study **khâ**

15. boys jàak lian kháp
 want study FMP
 (we) want to study **kháp**

16. Aaphorn ʔaaw lá ʔan nîi khuu ʔalaj ʔəj
 PT PFT thing this be what PT
 okay now, what is this?

17. students dɔk máaj
 flower
 flower.

next phases of the classroom activity. This new question, then, keys the start of the next classroom activity, entailing a range of expectations for the children's attention and participation. In lines 14-15, the children answer her again using the appropriate FMP's.

In this segment, the teacher has interrupted the course of the classroom activity to conduct an explicit socializing routine in which she prompts the children to respond appropriately to her question, including the use of the FMP's. This socialization routine having been completed after line 12, Aaphorn's question in line 13 constitutes a re-doing of the activity opening she had attempted in lines 5 and 7, an actual part of the classroom activity for which it marks the beginning.

While students often answer the teacher's questions without using the formality-marking particle, this particular moment is an important one in which children were held accountable for using it. In many cultures, the openings and closings of activities have been found to be more formal than other phases of activities and to require more formal and elaborate marking in the language to key the change in activity. In this segment, Aaphorn's question marks the opening of the next classroom activity, and thus it constitutes a relatively formal moment in the sequence of action. By correcting the children's response and directing them to repeat it, she holds them accountable for a more formal comportment at this particular point in the activity. Her intervention draws their attention to the formal, public, group activity that is about to begin and holds them accountable for displaying their understanding of the her question by answering in a choral response format. This socialization routine makes clear that the students as a group are expected to participate in the activity in ways that display their orientation to the classroom activity as a public, whole group event, rather than paying attention only to their peers or the private activities in which they may be engaged.

Segment 2 presents a similar example in which the kindergarten teacher is attempting to open a new activity with a question-answer sequence. This case was recorded two weeks earlier than Segment 1 above. Aaphorn starts by explaining the new activity that is about to start: "now we will (get to) know our friends one by one. We get up and hold hands together." Then she requests the students' assessment of the proposed activity by asking, "is that good?"

The teacher is marking the opening of a new activity in the first few lines of Segment 2. She begins by saying 'now,' in line 1, which marks the fact that the activity is being differentiated from the previous one. She

Segment 2: (5/17 #1, p. 19)

(Kam Muang in italics)

1. Aaphorn *pàdiaw* law cà lúucàk (0.2) phān
now 3p FUT know friend

thii lá khon thii lá khon
each person each person

now we will know (0.2) (our) friends,
one by one.

2. (0.5)

3. Aaphorn ?ēe law lúk khān cāp maw kan
PT 1p-pl rise up grab hand together

dii má:j ()
good Q

Ey, we get up and hold hands together,
is (that) goo:d? ()

4. ((students talking))

5. Aaphorn dii láu pàaw
good Q (or not)
is (it) good or not?

6. students dii (.) dii
good good
good (.) good

7. Aaphorn māj ?aw dii kháp dii khāa sī lūuk
NEG want good FMP good FMP DR kid
(I) don't want that. "it's good **khap**,"
"it's good **kha**," kids

8. girls dii khāa
good FMP
(it) is good **kha**

9. boys dii kháp
good FMP
(it) is good **khap**

10. Aaphorn dii má:j
good Q
is it goo:d?

11. girls dii khāa
good FMP
(it) is good **kha**

12. boys dii kháp
good FMP
(it) is good **khap**

13. Aaphorn ?āaw
PT
Ah.

then characterizes the overall activity as "getting to know their friends one by one." In line 2, Aaphorn describes the first moves in the new activity-- getting up and holding hands. At the end of line 2, she asks them "is (that) good?" Rather than formulating this as a directive, her question at the end of line two includes the children in the decision making process about the opening of the activity, and calls on them to ratify the line of action. By ratifying the line of action in response to this question, the students would show that they are paying attention, participating in the activity, and aligned with the teacher. Instead, however, the children do not answer and continue to talk with their peers, displaying that they are not paying attention to the whole group classroom activity.

In line 5, Aaphorn repeats her question, seeking ratification and alignment from the students, and some of the students answer her question, in line 6, without using the FMP. In line 7, the teacher indicates a problem with their answer by saying "(I) don't want (that)," referring to the students' answer. In the same line she models the desired answers, supplying the linguistic forms appropriate to both female and male speakers. She frames these models with the directive emphatic particle,

si (Standard Thai: directive emphatic particle) and the vocative reference to the children, *lîuk* (Standard Thai: 'kids'). This directive particle and vocative reference to the children construct an utterance that directs them to repeat the utterance that she modeled.

In lines 8-9, the children then repeat the answer as the teacher has modeled it for them, each supplying the appropriate FMP for their gender. The teacher then re-starts this activity-opening routine by repeating her question in line 10. In lines 11-12, the students answer her question chorally using the FMP's, and Aaphorn continues with the activity in line 13.

In this segment, as in segment 1, the teacher is socializing the children into this question-choral response routine at the opening of an activity. The children are simultaneously held accountable for recognizing not only that they are answering a very formal question, but also that it marks a very formal point in the activity- its opening- which entails the use of FMP's. They are expected to understand that a teacher's question at this point in an activity entails a different type of participation than questions during other phases of classroom activities—at this point in the activities all students are expected to display their attention to the activity by responding together. By requesting an assessment of the proposed activity in lines 3 and 5, Aaphorn makes relevant the children's vocal participation in the activity as a group. Such participation requires them to display that they have paid attention to her proposal in the first place.

In both Segment 1 and Segment 2 above, the teacher's interventions socialize children into the particular circumstances in which FMP's are expected. While the anticipatory socialization practices instruct children to use these particles *whenever* speaking with the teacher or in the classroom, the socialization that occurs within the context of behavior deals with the particular situations in which the lack of these particles would be unacceptable. In addition, the teacher establishes a routine for formally marking the opening of an activity that calls on the children to display that they are paying attention and participating appropriately in the ongoing public, group activity in the classroom.

Segment 3 below is another example of a teacher's intervention into the use of FMP's. At the start of this segment, one student seems to have given the correct name of a flower in response to the teacher's question, and the teacher calls the student to the front of the class. She then asks the other students if her answer was correct.

At the beginning of this segment (line 9), the students answer the teacher's question to the whole class without using the FMP. The teacher then repeats her question in line 10, and the students again answer without the particle (line 11). The teacher's repetition of her question in line 10 marks some problem with the students' first answer, as this repetition requires the students to re-do their response. Rather than supplying the correct form of the response, the teacher's repetition of the question

Segment 3: (5/29 #2, p. 3-4)
(Standard Thai only)

- | | |
|------------|--|
| 1. Aaphorn | ʔaa wíchújaa ʔòk maa lûk
PT NA exit come kid
Ah Wichuya come out, kid. |
| 2. | (0.5) |
| 3. Aaphorn | ʔaa (0.4) mâakii khun khuu
PT a.moment.ago HT teacher

thăam wăa
ask CMP
Ah (0.4) just now Mrs. Teacher asked, |
| 4. | (1.2) |
| 5. Aaphorn | ʔan nii khuu dòk ʔalaj ná
thing this be CLS which PT
This is what flower, right?

wíchújaa tòp wăa dòo:k
NA answer CMP CLS
Wichuya answered that it was a: |
| 6. student | ʔaapfăa
?
ougainvillea |
| 7. student | khânfăa]
?
kougainvillea |
| 8. Aaphorn | thùk máj kháa
correct Q FMP
is (that) correct kháa? |

9. students

thùuk
correct
(it) is correct

10. Aaphorn

thùuk mǎj kháa
correct Q FMP
is (that) correct **kháa**?

11. students

thùuk
correct
(it) is correct

12. Aaphorn

thùuk kháa
correct FMP
“(it) is correct **kha**,”

thùuk

kháp (0.2) tòop

mǎj lùuk

correct FMP

answer new kid

“(it) is correct **khap**” (0.2) answer again kids.

13. girls

thùuk kháa
correct FMP
(it) is correct **kha**.

14. boys

thùuk kháp
correct FMP
(it) is correct **khap**.

15. Aaphorn

thùuk mǎj kháa
correct Q FMP
is (that) correct **khá**?

16. girls

thùuk kháa
correct FMP
(it) is correct **khá**

17. boys

thùuk kháp
correct FMP
(it) is correct **kháp**

18. Aaphorn

ʔáaw khun khuu cà thǎam wíchújaa
PT HT teacher FUT ask NA

mǎj wǎa (.) wíchújaa nǐi
new COMP NA this

Ah, Mrs. Teacher will ask Wichuya again (.)
Wichuya this

19.

khǎu dǒok ʔàlaj kháa
be CLS what FMP
is what flower **khá** ?

presupposes the students' knowledge of why their response was incorrect, and calls on them to change their answers appropriately.

In line 11, the students repeat their answer chorally. This response shows that the students interpreted the teacher's repetition of her question as being in pursuit of a response from a larger number of students, since not all of the students responded to the first question. On the other hand, the students do not use the FMP's in this response.

In line 12, the teacher displays that the students' second try at a response did not constitute a completely appropriate correction of their response. Here, Aaphorn corrects the students' previous answer by repeating it with the addition of the FMP's, first modeling the female speaker version of the answer, then modeling the male version. Next, she directs the children to answer again, and the students chorally repeat the answer that the teacher had modeled for them, including the appropriate FMP.

The teacher then repeats her question again in line 15, in effect restarting the question-answer sequence and providing an opportunity for the children to practice the expected answer. In lines 16-17, the students chorally provide, again, the answer that the teacher had modeled, and then the teacher continues with the activity.

While this question-answer sequence is not opening a new activity, there are perhaps two reasons why the students would be expected to use the FMP here. First, the teacher's questions in lines 8 and 10 both contain the FMP, marking her question as more formal than other questions. This means that the teacher is constructing her question as highly formal, so the students should conform to the formality level the teacher has set. This level of formality, along with her eye gaze, mark this question as being addressed to the students as a group, rather than to individual students who may know the answer. Such questions make relevant a choral response, indicating that the answer is now the shared knowledge of all

the students. So, at different phases of classroom activities, the teacher can structure students attention by changing the forms of participation in ways that hold children accountable for producing a response together and thus displaying an orientation to the classroom activity in which the group is involved.

Discussion

These segments were recorded early in the school year, before classroom routines had been established. Later in the year, this particular question-answer sequence became a very regular classroom routine used by the teacher to mark the beginning of new activities and to get the children's attention. While anticipatory socialization practices instruct children to use the Standard Thai variants of the FMP's whenever they speak in the classroom, these examples demonstrate that the children are not held accountable for using the particles each and every time they speak in the classroom. In these segments the children are being socialized to distinguish between more and less formal phases of classroom activities, and to associate the use of these particles with particular forms of participation. They are held accountable for recognizing degrees of formality within classroom activities, and for participating appropriately during different phases of the activity. These forms of participation require students to display an orientation to the public, group activity in the classroom, rather than to the more private conversations or activities in which they may be engaged with their fellow students. This establishes a classroom routine not only for marking the openings of new activities, but also for structuring student attention within these activities by means of the participation structure of choral response entailed by the teacher's questions. Because these calls for a choral response require students to display their attention to these whole group activities, the teacher can use them to structure the students' attention in the classroom.

Conclusions

The socialization of classroom language and the appropriate display of respect occur both within and outside the context of the expected behavior. While official policy dictates that Standard Thai is the language of classroom interaction, the socialization practices at Pong Noi School do not characterize appropriate classroom language in terms of two distinct languages. Instead, children are explicitly instructed to use the social registers of Standard Thai, particularly the Standard Thai high FMP's. Anticipatory socialization practices, then, idealize the linguistic behavior expected of children by characterizing "speaking politely" as having "*khua/khup*". These socialization practices, which occur outside the context of behavior, also idealize the situations in which these particles should be

used, instructing children to use them when speaking to the teacher, or when speaking in the classroom. Because these particles are widely viewed by community members as emblematic of speaking Standard Thai as opposed to Kam Muang, children are indirectly socialized to associate Standard Thai with student-teacher interactions and whole class activities in the school setting.

Teachers do not intervene on every occasion in which these particles are expected. When they do intervene, the FMP's are entailed by the formality of the particular phase of the activity in which the students and teacher are involved. There are two types of teacher interventions that occur within the contexts in which these particles are actually expected. Sometimes teacher interventions presuppose children's knowledge of the appropriate linguistic forms. More often, however, the teacher's interventions supply the linguistic forms that the children are expected to use. These interventions model the appropriate utterances for the children and provide them with opportunities to practice producing the correct forms in question-answer sequences.

In relation to classroom language use, then, there is a disjunction between the official policy of using Standard Thai in the classroom, and what the children are actually instructed to do – speak politely and use the FMP's *khua* and *khup*. There is also a disjunction between the way in which the use of these particles is characterized by anticipatory socialization practices – as occurring whenever children speak to the teacher or in the classroom – and how these particles are actually used in particular situations.

The socialization into the use of these particles is interlinked with children's socialization into the structures of participation in the classroom. Because these particles occur in phases of the activity that entail a choral response, their use is interlinked not only with formality, but with the display of attention in the classroom. By holding the children accountable for participating at particular phases of the activity, the teacher is able to structure and direct the students' attention at crucial times.

Children's socialization into the ideologies and practices of respect occur both within and outside the context in which displays of respect are expected. Anticipatory socialization practices tie the practices of respect to salient variables, such as the roles of "teacher" or "student", or salient variables of the setting such as "in the classroom" versus "outside the classroom". On the other hand, the actual practices of displaying respect through the choice of Standard Thai (as indicated by the use of the Standard Thai FMP's) reflect implicit ideologies about the structuring of attention and participation in the classroom.

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Appendix A: Glossary of Abbreviations

BFV:	benefactive marker
CAU:	causative marker
CJ:	conjunction
CLS:	classifier
CMP:	complementizer
D:	declarative marker
DR:	directive intensifier
EMP:	emphatic
FMP:	formality marking particle
FUT:	future/irrealis
HON:	honorific prefix
HT:	honorific title
INT:	interjection
NA:	proper name
NEG:	negation marker
OS:	elder sibling
PFT:	perfect participle
PRL:	Participant referring label
PS:	possessive
PT:	pragmatic particle
Q:	interrogative marker
SP:	sentence particle
YS:	younger sibling
1p:	first person pronoun
2p:	second person pronoun
3p:	third person pronoun
f:	female speaker form
m:	male speaker form
pl:	plural
high:	high formality level
mid:	mid formality level
low:	low formality level, course

Appendix B: Transcription Conventions

[the point where overlapping talk starts
=	no interval between adjacent utterances
::	lengthened syllable
word	stress, emphasis, or high volume
o o	talk is quieter than the surrounding talk
<	onset where a stretch of talk is markedly rushed
-	a cut-off or self-interruption
()	when occurring in both the Thai language line and the English translation, this indicates an unintelligible stretch; when occurring only in the English translation, it indicates a linguistic element that does not occur in the Thai language (such as subject pronouns)
(word)	in the Thai language line it indicates the transcriber's candidate, but uncertain hearings
(.)	short pause about 0.2 seconds
(0.0)	length of silence in tenths of a second
(())	transcriber's descriptions of events
.hh	audible in breath

Reassessing Assessment Practices in an Adult ESL Program: Liberian Women's Evaluation of their Academic Achievement¹

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This study reports on data collected during two years of action research and six months of participation in an English as a Second Language (ESL) program comprised of elderly Liberian refugees. The data demonstrate how the female students' goals and outcome markers differ from those defined by the government. The government relies primarily on predetermined goals and standardized test results. In contrast, the female students consider program participation and task completion as more salient markers of academic success. Although not necessarily quantifiable, student assessment measures may offer a more complete picture of program efficacy. As non-mandatory students, adults need not participate in ESL programs or practices that do not meet their needs. When educators and officials acknowledge student-defined goals and outcomes, they may realize a more authentic measure of program success.

Introduction

In the United States, the government does not compel adults to attend school.² Instead, adults voluntarily continue with their education for a variety of reasons, including but not limited to learning basic skills such as reading, writing, and mathematics that they did not learn in school; obtaining a high-school diploma, the equivalent or an advanced degree; gaining work-skills or retraining for alternate employment; and, learning another language. Furthermore, adults do not necessarily consider measurements such as standardized test scores as representative of

¹ Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the 2004 Cultural Diversity and Language Education Conference, Honolulu, HI and the 2004 Second Language Research Forum, University Park, PA.

² The government only requires children to attend school from the ages of 6 to 16 and targets adult education programs to adults between the ages of 18 and 24 (ABLE 2004). Thus, for the purposes of this paper, adult will be defined as any individual 18 years of age and older.